Gorontalo OG4
Ambon OH4
Java OE1

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[308 cont.]

In his opinion, the Christianity of the Minahasa is higher than that of the Ambonese because the latter were "dynamists" before they were converted to Christianity and the Minahasa were "animists."

It seems to us that Kruyt has been too greatly influenced here by the evolution theory and pre-animism. He forgets that there was a great difference in the way these two peoples were converted. The Ambonese were converted in the very superficial manner of Xavier, and the instruction they received during the period of the East India Company was anything but intensive. The Minahasa, on the other hand, underwent serious and methodical preparation by the mission through instruction and sermons. Kruyt, of course, is far from maintaining that there are no notable Christians on Ambon (2). "Every people has its prophets," he says, "who stand

2. Kruyt, Van Heiden tot Christen, p. 20

out above the mass and they are proof of the regenerative power of the Gospel."

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Anyone who has had closer contact with, for instance, Christian Javanese recognizes that those who have come to Christianity by way of Hinduism and Islam also have distinctive characteristics as a result of their previous religious affiliation. There is further evidence of this in the story of the establishment of the [309] well-known missionary station Mådjåwarnå by Coolen, in the dangers to Christian truth when it is converted into ngèlmoe, "magic wisdom", and in the case of the Sadrach-Christians in central Java (1). Again

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[776]

1. Sadrach identified Jesus Christ with Ratoe Adil, who redeemed the world from injustice and unbelief and who restored the true religion and is the mentor of the moral life.

Concerning Sadrach, see Adriaanse, Sadrachs kring [Sadrach's Circle]; concerning National Christianity on Java, see the article by Lindenborn in Stemmen des tijds, May, 1917.

2: Wilken--470 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Ambon OH4
Ternate OH16

[418 cont.]

f. Burghers

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As we have seen, the division between nobility and the common class exists practically everywhere; a particular standing, however, remains to be considered, that of the burghers.

A T 565 177 651 636

Burghers are found primarily in the residencies Menado, Ambon, and Ternate. Their position dates from the first period of the East India Company, perhaps even from the time when the Portuguese had mastery in the archipelago. Briefly, their origin is this. As we have noted, the East India Company usually left the government in the hands of the native sovereigns and chiefs; therefore, the native population did not come under its direct authority. In imitation of the Portuguese it soon changed its policy and created a native element, which, coming directly under its control, was bound closer to it through privileges and was to form a [419] counterbalance to the native population that was governed by its own chiefs. This new native element—as the purpose for it required—had to consist primarily of strangers from elsewhere. When settling in a new territory, these strangers received a number of privileges, such as exemption from obligatory payments, etc. In the Moluccas, for example, there was an exemption from the delivery of cloves, which was an obligation of the indigenous population there. They therefore called themselves orang mardahika or mardika = free man, which was gradually corrupted to mardijker (1). Wherever this class of mardijkers

1. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XXVII, Series III, p. 191.

settled, it multiplied and steadily increased in number, the more so because the Company always fostered great numbers of these free people.

T A I 565 651

These mardijkers formed an intermediate class between the European burghers and the natives. They were obligated to bear arms against the latter on behalf of the former.

144 there is a high frequency of almost kinky hair.
[115] Rehatta, for example, is almost like an American Negro, with a heavy face and kinky hair. He is also very small, though this is not usual. Gaspersz is much more Caucasian. Some of the people here look like Javanese and are quite Mongoloid but most of them are proto-mongoloid and Papuan, mixed. The family names, largely
[551] with Dutch first names (at least among the Christians), sound very Papuan.

181 The people here seem very energetic and friendly, but I understand they are very sensitive. I get the impression that it is not a good idea to talk about this large element of
142 Papuan blood. The women here (whom I consider much less handsome in general than the Javan, Makassarese, Buginese, Toradja, and other Indonesian women) have heavy features, and their figures are often dumpy. Some, however, are not
[563] bad. So far I have not noticed very many Indos.
●177 This place was taken by the Portuguese in the early 1500's, and they remained here for much of that century. The story is that Francis Xavier was here. The Protestants deny this while the Catholics insist that it is so. For example, the new Catholic school here is called after him. There are many Portuguese words in the
[197] language here. The Dutch came in at the end of the 1500's. I talked about the Siwa, Lima, and Asa, but the men were not clear at all about these matters. It is the same old story.

197 The language here is Malay with a few differ-
195 ences in vocabulary. These local differences show similarities with the languages spoken on Ceram. These Ceram languages are dying out. Gaspersz says that a form of Ceram speech is heard all over in the old songs and that it is used in the adat ceremonies. And it is still used, especially by the elders, in some of the

197 kampongs. This is particularly true of the
195 Mohammedan kampongs, (which in general seem to keep the old ways better than the Christians). I will get the names of the kampongs where this speech is still used. Gaspersz did say that in Tulehu, it is used. There are a lot of people
[191] here who use Dutch most of the time, and a few have mastered English (for example, Rehatta).

463 It is a mystery to me how these folks live.
291 They say they are "employees," (evidently
241 largely government employees, in the schools,
262 etc.), fishermen, gardeners, makers of local sopi (distilled palm wine), cocoanut growers, and raisers of a few animals (there are no buffaloes here, but there are a few cattle, some pigs, and many fowls). There is practically no rice. The main food crop seems to be sago, which comes mostly from Ceram. In the towns people eat rice which is imported as the staple. There are some sago groves here too, and I have seen plenty along the roads. I've seen sago cakes too. And there is a fair amount of cloves. Formerly there was a fair amount of nutmeg (mace) [an aromatic spice consisting of the dried outer covering of the nutmeg], but this has nearly disappeared now. One Dutch informant told me that most of the port work is done by the Butonese. Evidently, the Ambonese dislike handwork.
464 They seem to have to go to school for a long
647 time because there are few jobs. Then a lot of
● 177 them seek army or other types of parasitic jobs
167 with the Dutch as there are few other opportunities here. Many of them simply have to get
[197] out. They also go in for mission work. Rehatta, who has been in the civil service in Ceram and New Guinea for a long time, says that the Ambonese officials and missionaries and teachers have singlehandedly "civilized" (and he says that there were very few Dutch involved although they

464 take the credit for it) Ceram and New Guinea.
647 He says that thousands of Ambonese have been
● 177 killed or have died in New Guinea. Thus it
167 would appear that they are the agents of secondary acculturation, learning from the Dutch first and then going out into difficult areas to pass on what they have learned to, for example, the Papuans. They themselves must seek such work as there is so little opportunity in the homeland.

562 I note that the women here, at least the
291 Christian ones, seem to be free and move about
177 with greater assurance everywhere than I have noted elsewhere in Indonesia. This is the only
[485] hotel I have seen so far in Indonesia which has a chambermaid. She dresses in the notable short European, little-girl dress and speaks Dutch. These dresses are amazing. Maybe it is because of the clothing shortage, but big women wear them all over. This is true in Java, Celebes, here, and everywhere. They hardly reach to the knees, and are very tight. They look like the reverse of little girls in their mothers' dresses.

361 Most of the kampongs here are along the coast.
342 Houses are often plastered and are not bad in appearance. Poorer houses are made of gaba-gaba [dry stems of leaves uses as stakes for walls and as roof covering] and thatch.

291 The dress here is either European and shabby,
292 or native. For the women, the latter means a long kebaya, found elsewhere as in Minangkabau and I understand in some Java areas, colored or white. The adat dress is of black sateen, both for the sarong and long sleeved kebaya. Some women wear the regular length kebaya. The men, in ceremonious dress, wear buttoned up but collarless white jackets like those of bellboys. Over this they wear a short black open coat. These costumes are most unusual. I will get the details later.

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585 glass wrapped in red cloth first to one then
273 another of the dancers while she herself danced
535 about. She came to our table and gave me a drink
887 too. Then the party got rough, and the old girls
533 kept beckoning for me to dance, too. They were
609 more and more insistent, jibing me, and finally
123 I was practically dragged to my feet. I joined in moving my feet and waving my arms. They went round and round me and Gaspersz with the bride in the center singing all the time and making up verse after verse about me and other things. There were hundreds of people sitting around outside and peering through the half walls laughing and cheering. They especially enjoyed our response to the signal for squatting slowly and then rising in a sort of pumping fashion. They were especially amused at me. At one point the bride held the glass filled with drink to my mouth and I tossed it off to loud cheers. Among the dancers was an old girl, the wife of a Dutch-looking Indo, who spoke Dutch. She was just as gay as the others. This is evidently a dance especially for old men and old women. It seems to be the old time stuff and perhaps the young people don't know much about it. The younger
[177] folk seem to be more for the European type of dancing which came on later. Finally this was
585 over and I sat down. But then they said we were
535 to go to another room where there was an orchestra. This was the same routine as at Waai, with the Radja calling the turns (there is a native term for this "dancing ball" square dance, and it is evidently a French dance, as the calls are largely in French, e.g., en place). I was led in by the bride who was on my arm. First there was a grand march and then a waltz. Then they proceeded with the mad dancing. We were standing in a square and there were hundreds of people sitting on

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585 benches around this and on the outside peering in.
535 The children were pushing in under foot and being slapped and pushed away. We went back and forth bowing and in circles, and with endless, mad galloping in teams of four, until I was dripping wet. From time to time we would waltz, first with our own partner and then prancing across the dirt floor to the woman on the opposite side, thus changing partners. The wife of the Radja, [291] dressed in a kebaya, was a better dancer than the bride who was in European dress. I saw some [142] real hook-nosed and dark Papuan types, especially one woman. And there are all sorts of others, especially the Hindu-faced woman.

585 The whole thing was a remarkable show of high spirits. This is the second day of the feast. Yesterday they had the first, and then at 4 P.M. they had the church wedding. At about 11:00, Gaspersz said that we should go, and he stood in the center of the floor facing the pair and made a speech about me, thanking the people for everything. Then we left, to their applause, taking the Radja and his wife home on the way. The old 887 women,[1] incidentally, seemed to be somewhat sug- 533 gestive in singing, and I got the impression of 831 very sexy excitement, despite their age.

585 I asked Gaspersz why this party had been so 369 lively, in fact much more so than the one in 533 Waai. He said that this was because it was near • 177 the city. I wonder also about the influence of 771 its being the only Christian kampong in a Mohammedan area. Gaspersz said that the most lively parties are held in the mountain kampongs. He said that the Mohammedans have a much duller time. They dance with slight body movement, moving their arms mainly, and the men move while the women are almost motionless. Here again the dullness and enervation of the Mohammedan influence seems to show itself.

[1] [i.e., those attending the wedding; see cat. 116, p. 21--Analyst]

000 (the new name for New Guinea) separate, and not have it included in RIS.

668 This is interesting and I see that the type represented by Gaspersz and Monuhutu see that they must have a united Indonesia. I told them about the United States Civil War and of Lincoln's saying that there had to be a united land. The trend here among the better elements is clearly for cooperation with the Republic.

000 Monuhutu, a tall and handsome man who speaks English, said that he had read some of my writings. He is a good man. I note that he is from Saparua, like Soumokil, and in addition he is tall and energetic. I must see Saparua.

721 I heard a remarkable story at Latuhalat. About thirty years ago Robinson, an English naturalist, was at a dance at the Club Ambon (Gaspersz and his wife were there). After 4:00 A.M. he went south to the hills near Silale, looking for flowers. He met some Binongko, and they asked him what he was looking for. He said he was looking for the kepala [head], meaning kelapa [cocoanut], and they, having heard that whites wanted heads for new buildings, bridges, etc., killed him at once. They threw his head into the sea. This made a great case and the English government caused considerable trouble. Thus, until recently, and perhaps even now, much of this head-hunting activity is clearly in the minds of the people.

273 The native name for koolwater is sopi.

191 I have met several Ambonese, including soldiers,
● 197 who speak English. One soldier in particular was at the wedding feast in Amahusu. He was a fresh guy, obviously having been with U.S. soldiers at one time. He shouted, "O.K.," "Swing it, brother," etc. This gives me a pain. Rehatta speaks English too. He has a lisp.

185 In discussing the future, Monuhutu brought up the old gag about how Ambon could live indefinitely

T & A

161 I think, and this kampong is the largest in all
621 Ambon with a population of about four thousand. The Mohammedan kampongs of Hitu are regularly bigger than the Christian kampongs on Leitimor. The Amahusu population is only about four to five hundred. [Lated denied.]

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798 Relations between Christians and Mohammedans
● 177 are excellent here. In fact, they both retain
771 the old adat to a remarkable degree. The kampongs on Hitu keep more of the old ways, for example,
[197] they still speak the bahasa tanah. This may be because they are more remote. On the other hand, Mohammedanism may be less destructive of the old adat than Christianity. Also, the followers of the latter have the Dutch models to follow, whereas the former adherents have no advanced Mohammedan folk to use as models for ever purer acculturation. In both cases the radjas are constantly saying that despite new things, and religion, and modernism, the old adat is essentially good and must not be lost. I can see that even after four hundred years of acculturation these people do keep up a lot of the old practices amazingly well.

796 For example, October 31 was Martin Luther Day
177 (I noted a sign in the Latuhalat church saying
778 "Wittenberg Hervorming"), and great crowds came
769 to Ambon from many kampongs in Leitimor to have
782 open air ceremonies on a hillside behind the war cemetery. There they were, each negri in its own place, with a preacher on a pulpit decorated with leaves and the choirs ranging beautifully
[291] on the slopes. The women, as usual, were dressed in long kebaya (the Latuhalat choir women all wore pink kebaya). Although this was Christian and was concerned with Luther, wasn't it really like the old negri lama practices? Could not

[i.e., "Wittenberg Reformation", Lutheran Church--Analyst]

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796 this have been a pagan ritual, with a pilgrimage
769 calling on the ancestors? Anyway, aside from
782 this, every kampong has its own negri lama, and
177 everyone knows the stories in this connection.
778 These negri lama sites are located on hilltops where every kampong here was once located. Behind every coastal negri there stands a hill, and there there is a sacred place of the ancestors (like the hill in Marante). There also is the sacred stone (batu pemali). Nearby is also the sacred spring of the ancestors. The Radja of Tulehu said that Ambonese soldiers going to Java or some other place, go secretly (especially if they are Christian) to their negri lama and pray to their ancestors for protection taking with them some earth from that place to make them invulnerable. In addition, the weddings are filled with old songs, and other ritual practices. And all along I heard about the tuan tanah, kapitan, malessi, mauwen, saniri and magic. All of this shows an amazing persistence, after four hundred years of heavy acculturation.

Sunday, October 30: Rehatta and I went to
633 the seaside house of the Mayor of Ambon. His
427 name is Pieter. He is a dark fellow, educated in
466 Holland. His wife is ample, dark, and handsome. She too had been in Europe for some time. She speaks good English. They entertain lavishly, with drinks, food, etc. He said that his salary
[465] was fl. 1500 per month, which was not enough. But she has big gardens on this and the other side of the bay with five hundred workers living on them and she gets over fl. 3000 per month from them. They are obviously well off. Her two daughters will go to Switzerland to school after they finish here. Her workers (evidently many Butonese among them) get free rent on the land in return for a certain number of days work

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621 Waai and Suli are Christian, the others are
801 Mohammedan. However, this makes no difference.
632 The Radja says he can't remember any other uli
631 in Hitu, but that they have them, perhaps as
[114] many as two more. I asked about Jansen's[1] idea
that the pattern means a human body, with the
radja as the head-trunk, the orang kaya the
arms, and the patih the legs. He took to this
idea amazingly. He had evidently heard of it.
He didn't play it very hard but did accept it.
However, he could not see the nine.

622 I then asked about the three radjas of Leiti-
621 mor, which I now see are uli too.[1] Sure enough,
632 Nusanive has a radja and the other four are
631 Latuhalat, Silale, Amahusu, and Seri. But here
● 177 the four have respectively three orang kaya and
801 one kepala soa at the head. He said that this
565 must have been caused by later change, probably
because of the Dutch elevation of lesser chiefs
to places where there should be two orang kaya
and two patih.

Regarding Kilang, there is the radja and the four (Naku, Hatalai, Hukurila, and Ema). The four, however, have a patih and three orang kaya. Here again he said that the original pattern must have been warped by the Dutch. As for Soya, there is a radja, and only three (Halong, Hutumuri, and Rutung). And these have respectively, patih and two orang kaya. He says this is a case of warping too. I asked why there were not four, and he said they did have four and the fourth was Batumerah, which has an orang kaya.

778 Then I asked if it is true that "nine"[3] had
632 their stone[4] on the land side and "five" on the
801 sea side of the baileo. He said that this is all
681 right for the "five," maybe. But he would rather
say "the west side," and the stone here (was) is
on the west side of the baileo. If so, I assume
that "nine" would have the stone on the east

[1] [See cat. 113 --Analyst]; [2] [See also cat. 116, p. 89--Analyst]
[3] [bonds of negri (Ulisiwa)--Analyst]; [4] [i.e., batu pemali --Analyst]

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778 side. I may be able to ask about this elsewhere.
632 I asked if it was true that fines of the "nine"
801 were in units of nine and of the "five" were in
681 units of five. He seemed to take hold of the "five" all right and said that this was all right formerly although it was now disregarded. He doubted the "nine" business.

802 He said that they always count by fives, for example in laying gaba-gaba strips or counting cocoanuts, etc. I think there may be something here and he remembers enough to make me think it could have been so.

[114] I got nowhere with Jansen's fancy idea about
621 the double-sex aspects of social organization.
565 This all led to an outburst. He said that the
177 Dutch ruined the system. They broke up the uli
668 pattern by lowering the radja and elevating the
622 orang kaya and patih. Thus all was equalized
632 and the uli were no longer significant. Thus
631 Ambon has many chiefs on a dead level instead of a strong organization with a radja ruling larger districts and orang kaya and patih as assistants in kampongs. Thus there is no district organization here as in Celebes. He said that when they got freedom they would recreate the uli. He of course wants this as he would then get much more power. He envies the radjas in Celebes and he said it made his blood boil to think of how the Dutch broke up the uli so as to make Ambon weak.

476 This all led to the question of what the
608 duties of the uli were. He said that when work
621 was needed, for example, for a new school or
632 church or mosque, the five units belonging to the uli all helped each other.

Then we went on to the pela and he said that this was the same thing although here everything is done in pairs. Thus I find two types of federation for mutual aid: uli and pela. The

000 A conch shell, a drum, and a gong are all used to call the ancestors. Every negri has a baileo. Every negri also has the tjakalele and costumes to go with it. The seven negri form an uli.

The negri themselves were often formed of an uli of five soa or aman. These ulilima were always comprised of five soa. There are no definite marriage relations between the fam here. Some are pairs of wife-exchanging fam; others are triads. The unusual thing in such cases is that any one of the three may marry into any other of the three, regardless of sex. Thus it is clearly not a one-way rotating system, but merely a group of three intermarrying fam.

177 182 The more I hear of Ambon the more I am astonished at the retention of the complex adat here by a completely "Westernized" and "Christianized" or "Mohammedanized" people. This must be one of the most remarkable cases of such phenomena in the world.

778 789 Ambon: Rehatta says that the Haruku negri (which ones?) still have very large holy jars. These jars are kept in a separate room in the house. And they are kept by themselves. They are believed to possess great magic power and people fear disturbing them. In the prewar period there were many of these holy jars in Ambon too. This is amazing. From his gestures, always expansive, they must have been (and are) six feet high and three feet in diameter, more or less woman-shaped.

245 In checking over the notes on Ambon, Rehatta says it is true that there is no shooting or shouting in the clove groves when the cloves are 304 178 flowering. There is no tooth filing, although Rehatta thinks that this was done before. Uti-286 uti cloth is no longer made. It was made of mixed thread, that is, made from strands of pineapple, ramie, and cotton fibers. His grandmother

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178 mail by automobile (it was brought from Saparua
205 by boat before), and until it broke down just
377 before the last war the Radja had an electricity
489 plant run on gasoline. It is still in a shed in his yard. He sold current at so much per watt. Thus if you used a 60 watt bulb, the price would be fl. 6.00 per month. Not more than one hundred houses had electricity, and there could not have been much expansion because
[342] the plant was small. There are still no tin
[206] roofs at all. There is still no telegraph. In all, there is little change.

286 Before the war evidently there was no weaving
177 and no memory of weaving, but the Japanese brought in a few small looms and some of the women still use these for making tablecloths from pineapple fiber thread. He said they do not have a comb in the loom, but he probably doesn't know much about this. Anyway, weaving is no art here. The only kind of spinning done is that of pineapple fiber into thread and this is done only rarely.

323 There is no pottery making here and evidently no good earth for ceramics. Such earth is found in Saparua.

326 There are two smiths, one from Tulehu and the other a Javan. I visited the shop of one. They make bush knives (parang) and small parts.

[335] There are many carpenters in Tulehu. There is no gold and silver work done locally. Traveling smiths come from Saparua for this type of work.

287 There is no bark cloth here today and no memory of it.

262 So far as diet is concerned there have been
178 some innovations in the last half century. Butter is new and so is cheese. The children
[853] use very little milk. If the mother is dry, a wet nurse is employed.

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648 would cause no more trouble. This pension
729 business is very important here as there are
[665] so many retired soldiers. This, however, is far more important to the Christians than to the Mohammedans, and this is a factor in the greater PTB membership among Christians.

829 Many people knew that Holland was small and
186 didn't like it very much, but they were afraid
208 to say anything. Formerly they felt that the Queen was their radja, whereas nowadays they do not think so. The pictures of the Queen in every government office are not impressive now. And none of the houses has such pictures. The Dutch were always felt as distant and it was observed that they acted superior. This is especially resented. And I see the Dutch making clumsy efforts to be democratic and chummy. Australian
● [177] soldiers were here after the war, and the local people were much impressed by their mixing, playing with children, walking around the negri, and their generosity. The Dutch suffered by comparison. By and large the Dutch are certainly awkward.

829 Not much is known about world politics or
665 other countries yet. People are too much concerned with Ambon and Indonesian politics for the present. There are two kinds of nationalists here: Ambonese and Indonesian. Free discussion is possible here, but there are no street meetings. They do have meetings in Ambon. There is much talk going on in the houses but there are no real meetings. What happens is that all big candidates are well known, for example, Pupella. And the parties, especially, PIM, have leaders in each negri. That is, there is a kepala in each negri. He tells the people about the politics
665 and policies and rounds up votes. Thus they have a party organization with a leader in each negri.

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178 taught in regard to politics, but now the people
186 even think in terms of Indonesia, though largely
829 Ambon-centered. They are not yet internationally
668 minded. The idea of independent units of negri
182 is well rooted here. There is no thought yet of uniting them into larger units. And they are all equal, large or small. They know very well
[798] that as Christians they are going to be swamped in Indonesia, and they think Mohammedans, after years of being kicked around by the Christian majority here, are looking forward to the day when they will be of a majority in a united
[665] Indonesia. So far, however, there has been no attempt to form a Christian or a Mohammedan party.

648 The people here knew little about the details
829 of colonial government before. Even now they do
177 not talk about the abuses of the old colonial government, as do, for example, the Javans.

The feeling in prewar days was that Holland was the motherland, even though they knew it was small and poor (they noticed how Holland milked Indonesia). The Queen was felt to be their Queen. Religion held in common with Holland was a terrific bond, especially as the rest of Indonesia was mainly Mohammedan. I get the idea, however, that Ambon never thought much of the rest of Indonesia. The people here say, "We must never forget that the Dutch educated us." It is almost pathetic how often they repeat this. Perhaps here is a lesson for the Dutch on the value of education in keeping a colony. Also, the people here really like the Dutch. They see them as a bit snooty, but they like them. How different from Tulehu!

186 The Amahusu folk know very little about other
829 countries. They are too much concerned about local affairs to bother about such things. The

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361 178 575 794 476 The real ngungare and djodjaro organizations are no longer in existence. In fact, he[1] says that they disappeared long ago. This is probably not so. He says that Latuhalat and Silale still have a club house for the two groups. He certainly knows a lot about them, but says now they have only the Pemuda organization, in the church. Members of this Pemuda are fifteen or above and can be married or even rather old. He is the leader now. This Pemuda organization includes both males and females. The adviser is one of the church staff. They discuss the Bible! They also do good work, for example, they have quite a treasury, and bought some timber from the negri and cut it and sold it at a profit. This contributed to the expenses of a Pemuda delegation that went to Holland to talk with the Queen. It is entirely a church controlled thing here, but note the survivals: a chief, a place of meeting, good works, mutual aid, the name.

621 527 794 177 346 I shocked him by saying that I had decided the reason that the church was so great a center in the negri was that it takes the place of the baileo. And they are enthusiastic Christians as this replaces the old cult which was the very center of life. I said I was shocked to see the new church in Lateri which was planned and largely built by the Burgemeester (who had a special sawmill put up, but where did he get all the materials?). It was very fine, but nearby there are dilapidated houses and a pitiful scrap iron school. I said, however, that I understood because it was the baileo. Also I noted that the church feast for a new church is the biggest of all feasts. They gave this to me as an example of a really big negri feast. And the Mohammedans say the same thing about a new mosque. Thus it is the same as it used to be for a new baileo.

[1][i.e., the assistant, Musila -- Analyst]

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565 the community are too close relatives. This is
582 why all the women in the radja's family leave home when they marry. Also, the radja himself nearly always marries a noble. And this is why nearly all of the radjas are married to outside women. There are no noble women in the kampong who are distant enough relatives to be suitable marriage partners. Thus the present radja's wife is the daughter of the Asilulu radja.

The different radja families are very much intermarried.

789 There seems to be no idea at all about magic
● 177 power vested in the radja. Perhaps this indeed
177 is Hindu derived. Here there seems to be little
565 if any Hindu influence. Still, I think of Polynesian mana.

771 Mohammedanism has not changed much in the
178 last fifty years, but the old religion and
769 feasts have declined fast. There was a Lating
182 feast in 1948 to make a new house for the sacred
527 graves of the Lating radjas. I saw this place later and it turned out to be a house with slat sides halfway down. In it were three graves like those of the Goa radjas, only plainer. In one there were two marker pairs, as it was the grave of the radja and his wife. If one could date these, it would be known when the Wakang took over. Here we see the ancestor cult in good form. And note that here we also see the link between the ancestor cult and the kramat of the great hadjis of Batavia. The Lebaran development is very clear here and the steps are: Lating clan graves--Radja Goa graves--Hatja Batavia graves. (Clan ancestors to kingdom ancestors to religious ancestors.)

[755] Here at the Lating grave, Gani says, if there is illness or trouble in the Lating group the people come and read the Koran on Thursday night

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How

567 about the Isaac fam? They say that they are not
614 slave descendants and other folk say that they are not too. I must ask the Radja. Also, are there any turunan burger. Silooy doesn't know. I will ask the Radja about this too. (It
[124] would be better if I had the old Silooy man for an assistant.)

564 There is no group of outcasts in Amahusu.

463 The ambitions of the youth here are mainly
178 directed toward becoming clerks and soldiers.
871 Not very many of the people here want to become
554 teachers. There is a new trend noticeable in a few individuals for learning the telegraphist trade. I am told that all who learn how to become teachers are poorly paid, while the soldiers get plenty of free food and clothes and eventually a pension. The religious teachers get excellent pay, and here again the church is more important than the school. There is not much chance to rise in this negri.

554 . There are no distinctive symbols of rank and
178 status. If one addresses the radja one usually
576 uses the term paduka. Formerly the term upu was used to address the tuan tanah, the kepala soa, and the kapitan.

293 The radja has a special hat and staff. The
178 former evidently has a kind of fringe and the
622 latter a silver head. Formerly he had a jacket
554 with a strip of fringe along the sleeves. He wears the white hat and carries the stick on special occasions.

624 The hierarchy of rank is as follows: radja,
554 three kepala soa, pastor, kepala kewang, gurus of the church, gurus of the school.

[554] Especially influential are the pastor and the
793 church gurus. They slay the folk here with
181 Bible quotations. I remember Rehatta telling
177 how he wanted to fire a preacher in Soya because

A A
793 he said there was no hell. Rehatta quoted the
181 Bible and that fixed him. These sanctimonious
177 people! The curse even of Dutch religion is on them, and they get everything bad from the Dutch. The Mohammedans are refreshing after these people.

A I sometimes wonder about the short, little-
291 girl, European style dresses that I have noted
177 here in Indonesia. Is it that they need to use only a small amount of cloth? Or is it that they think short skirts are still in style? I can't figure this out, but it certainly was a shock to see them as little girls from the rear and then to note in front that they were actually oldish women in little girls' dresses.

C Ceram: Pieter, a guru from Amahei, who grew
158 up in the Elpaputi area, says that the Patasiwa Hitam still have a kind of "head" mania. He advises that you should never let them walk behind you, because the sight of the back of your neck is irrestible to them, and they may take a parang and sweep off your head. There was a recent case of a soldier who walked this way and a man pulled out his sword and cut off his head. This may be because they have heard so much about it.

A Ambon: The movie here last week was "Don't
546 Fence Me In." Ever since then one hears lads
533 whistling the song all over Ambon.

T

A Tulehu: There are no priests here except for
793 the leaders of the Mohammedan rituals, except
[624] for the ritual aspects of the activities of the tuan tanah, kepala dati, etc., for which I have other evidence previously stated and to follow. The Mohammedan officials are: imeum, hatib, three modin, and ten guru Islam. There is also one mosque janitor: merebut or halipa. In

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181 is a spiritless and uninteresting kampong is precisely that they have indeed lost their spirit.

771 177 There are no discernible Hindu or Buddhistic elements in the local religion.

346 778 There is a church (plus the Pentecostal center), the negri lama, the batu pemali, and formerly a baileo.

614 778 423 422 Every fam that has a dati, i.e., a fam which has been here for a long time and is not from the outside, has pusaka (plates, etc.) of the ancestors which are kept in the house of the kepala dati. If there are several kepala dati in a fam (for example, Silooy), I guess each one has some pusaka in his house.

769 527 When my informant was still young, a festa pemali was held, and at such times the people ate foods like the ancestors ate. It was a sort of reliving the past, and the ancestors were called by using a conch shell. These were family feasts.

527 783 614 They still have the festa tjutji negri. For three days they clean the negri, the negri lama, and the cemetery. (Do they call the ancestors at this time?) Only the saniri and the kepala dati go up to the negri lama to clean it. There are no fam feasts.

178 526 769 789 777 On August 31, when they had the orembaai races, they used to call the ancestors with a conch shell (the tuan tanah did it). They also used to do guna-guna, etc. As long as this was done, Amahusu always won. This was true up until the war, but since then they have not gone through with these rites and have lost every time. They used to beat even Rutung, where they do powerful guna-guna so that their orembaai is very swift and their runners (they have foot races too) are like suwanggi. Nevertheless,

178 A
526 Amahusu used to beat them. The people here are
769 beginning to wonder if they hadn't better use
789 a little ancestor stuff and magic for the races
777 again.

527 Other feasts are baptism (perhaps takes the
852 place of old Indonesian infant feasts, e.g.,
haircut), wedding (largest), and funeral (small).

535 The tjakalele equipment (weapons) is still
614 kept by Mainake. The costumes, including the
tapa loincloth, are gone. (Hatalai still has
these costumes, including the tapa loincloth.)
Mainake is the tuan tanah fam, and it is also
one of the two kapitan fam (which one has the
kapitan now?). I suspect the kepala soa or
somebody in Mainake still knows how to teach the
tjakalele. Probably many men can still do it.

793 The religious leaders are the preacher and
875 the gurus. They are very important and influen-
578 tial, but there is sometimes trouble with the
radja if they criticize the old beliefs too
much.

771 This is definitely a conservative Christian
181 area, with real Dutch fundamentalism. The young
875 gurus are the worst, as they are fanatics. They
555 know that the old Dutchmen who run the church
177 are like this, and when they hear that a young
guru is full of hell fire they will raise his
pay and promote him. The smart ones get onto
this and preach hell with full force.

871 There are Bible classes for children and
794 adults, but there is no mixing of church in
school.

795 There is a great deal of argument and debate
521 on religious subjects but it is all between the
578 very argumentative Pentecostals and the Protes-
tants. It must be funny to hear a stiff Calvin-
ist being accused of modernism by an even more
795 fundamentalist Pentecostal! (It is really piti-

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songs we all know and make up new ones. When they have a pasar malam, they have song contests between the singing teams from various negri. A committee awards prizes. Such awards are for old and original songs. Of course there are hymns and choir singing.

Music is the only art of Ambon.

Their only kinds of amusement are movies, singing and music, and dance.

In the prewar period they had football and they may make a new field soon. At the present time, however, they are building a new school, and every man must do a certain amount of negri work on the school. As kepala tukang, Musila has divided the men into two groups. They work on alternate Saturdays. Thus it follows the old kwarto dienst pattern! There are no other sports. A few people play cards and checkers, but they are very few. The Butonese have cock fights and several in Amahusu have learned to do this from them. The children fly kites a little and they know the string cutting game. There is nothing else, and in short, there is very little.

There is no sculpture, no carving, and no painting. There are plays in the church but this is new. There is a painter in Ambon. There are no arts and crafts in school as they cannot get the materials needed. They did have some of this before the war.

The men work long hours but not so many women work as in Tulehu. Sundays and evenings are free. The main diversion is that of visiting relatives in the negri.

They know very little about amusements and entertainment as carried on in other countries. Musila was amazed when I told him about American customs involved in automobiling, etc.

T

778 The Saparua man says that he never heard that the Siwa batu had to be on the sea side of the baileo and the Lima batu on the land side.[1] He says the truth is that the Siwa batu has to be upright, perhaps one and one-half meters high, while the Lima batu is flat and low, hardly above the level of the ground.

273 The Mohammedans here make no palm wine.

342 Only the Butonese use pile houses.

178 When the local people build new houses they put coins under the main post. The Saparua lad says that this is true for Saparua too. He says that they probably used a head in former days. In Ceram a cocoanut may be used today.

When a new house is built a feast is held, but nothing else.

124 The Saparua man corrected my bahasa tanah list which Rehatta had given me with thirteen errors in it. Such a big mouth.

787 825 The Saparua man says indeed that Nusalaut is far off. He says that though it is adjacent to Saparua he knows very little about the adat there. The tui bird is an omen bird all over. For example, the Saparua man says it will come to the negri and tell the folk if one has had an accident in the garden.

291 ●177 Formerly, Mohammedan women wore a long kebaya. Now they do not. They have taken over largely the Javan style, and this is spreading to the Christians.

304 262 When a little girl's ears are bored, (and all little girls' ears are bored), she cannot eat oily food (for example, cocoanut) until the holes have healed.

304 178 They say that relatively few have their teeth evened down, but both of them do have theirs filed in that fashion. It is done with a stone. They believe that it is a new style and that it

[1] [sacrificial stones of the Ulilima & the Ulisiwa; see p.371 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

N

789 685 753 better. The people here are sure that the Alfur had put a matakau on the snake against anyone who tried to steal it, and this is why Baier was stricken.

726 789 769 411 On the second morning I went to the kapitan's house and he was already making fire with cocoanut shells and bits of wood in an old brazier of copper which was very ornate. When the flames died down and the coals were glowing, he intoned a soft and savage prayer in the bahasa tanah. As he held his arms and hands over the heat and rubbed the heat over his body and legs he prayed softly and intensely. Then, in turn, he took each of his two spears and two shields (salawako) and bathed them in the heat. As he did so he prayed hard and soft and made chirping f-f-p sounds like one calling a dog or fowl. He was dead serious and very intense. Then he went outside and around to the rear and to one side of his house. There he mounted a jutting stone facing toward Latuhalat, and with a big shield and one spear he prayed and shouted softly toward Latuhalat. He also blew on the conch shell several times, calling the ancestors. Then he sprang into a ferocious war dance, brandishing the spear and shield and towering high in the air, twisting to and fro. It was a terrible sight. [177] I forgot to say that he has two old copper or brass Portuguese helmets, Columbus style. He bathed these in the heat too. They have feathers on them in the front. He wore one of these during the cursing and invocation. They are authentic. There is no doubt that in Latuhalat formerly they had one doing the same sort of thing against Naku, and this was the pattern as when Tulehu has a football game with another negri now, or when they have orembaai races. They each make magic against the other.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1 Minangkabau OD10
Celebes OG1 Atjehnese OD4
Ambon OH4

The marriage portion is a small payment (mostly 5 gulden) from the man to the woman; it is sometimes lumped with other payments (in Java, for example, with the "tukon," in South Celebes with the "sunrang," in Atjeh with the "jinamee"), and is then, of course, a higher amount. It is frequently customary to continue to owe the marriage portion. The Marriage Ordinance for Java [9] and that for the Outer Possessions,[10] are not legal regulations, but administrative instructions, which make it obligatory to invoke the assistance of an appointed religious leader in case of marriages concluded according to the teachings of Islam. This was done for the sake of legal security and order, under threat of penalty against those who are remiss.

Alongside of the practice of marrying in the Mohammedan style, marriage in the adat way may continue unaltered. Intensely religious circles may object to it, but in the legal life of many communities, Mohammedan marriage is a constituent of the marriage process in its entirety, in which native elements are retained and the marriage keeps its general Indonesian character. Thus, among the Minangkabau, it is impossible to say whether the girl's father plays a more important role as a "wali" in the Islamic sense or as the "mamaq kepala waris," the adat representative.

The marriage law of Christian Indonesians, on the other hand, leaves no room for an adat marriage. It tries to regulate marriage in all its aspects. It will countenance only those aspects of Indonesian marriage which are strictly compatible with the tenets of Christian religion. Since it is easily understood how effective bride-price is in deterrance of divorce, bride-price is usually admitted as a permissible practice.

But all in all, the influence of Christianity is far more destructive of Indonesian character and practices than is that of Islamism. This is also reflected in areas outside the field of marriage. For example, the Ambonese garden priest (mauwin), a functionary connected with magico-religious systems, can still be found in Mohammedanized Hitu, while he has totally disappeared from Christianized Ambon.

B. DIVORCE

1. DIVORCE IN ADAT LAW

Marriage is a family and lineage affair, which makes possible the regular growth of family communities into new generations. New

[9] Staatsblad, 1929, No. 348.
[10] Staatsblad, 1932, No. 482.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Toradja OG11
Gorontalo OG4 Batak OD5
Java OE1
Ambon OH4

wife's family). Because of this, spouses who are at odds with each other try to force the opposite one into a position of guilt. The husband will go off on long journeys; the wife will indulge in provoking behavior. The wife will frequently go on a visit to her parents and not come back. A lengthy period of separation precedes the divorce action. Finally, after prolonged attempts to keep the marriage going, the chiefs have to decide the question of culpability and dissolve the marriage. The person who attempts to extort a divorce solely because of a one-sided aversion, without a justifying motive, is treated as culpable. This is true, if it is the husband in a bride-price marriage. But the wife, who dissolves an adoptive marriage in this way, is not penalized.

In some tribes, as the Bataks and West Torajas, completion of divorce is symbolized by an overt act of dropping a bamboo three times, chopping through a rattan, or something of the sort.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM ON DIVORCE

The native rules of divorce are now rarely unmodified by the two great religions. In two respects, Islam and Christianity are at one in their effect on divorce. In the first place, they both condemn it sharply. In the second place, the rules of both religions deal with the personal side of the dissolution of marriage and do not treat marriage as a communal affair. As a result, the prescriptions of these religions undermine the regulatory and conservative force of intervention by the family elders and village chiefs. Yet, notwithstanding the similarity of their starting points, Islam and Christianity exert contradictory influences on divorce in accordance with adat law. They do this in three respects. Generally speaking, the Christian rules reduce the actual possibilities of divorce; Muslim regulations increase them. The Christian regulations place husband and wife on an equal footing in reference to the grounds for divorce and divorce proceedings. Mohammedan regulations give the husband far greater liberty than the wife. Christian rules always call for government intervention; divorce is almost always a matter for judicial decision. Islamic rules create the possibility of divorce without intervention of the authorities.

Statutory intervention, as the secular regulation of divorce for the Christian Indonesians in Java, Ambon and Minahasa, and the control of registration of divorce of Mohammedans is an additional factor in the total picture of divorce for Indonesians.

The various postulates and divergent possibilities of adat, Chris-

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBl Indonesia OBl
Batak OD5 Ambon OH4
Java OBl

forms to these usages. As a result, the special question exists both for the native judge and for the judge of the native state, what judgments can be used in conjunction with punishments from the Criminal Code in order to satisfy the individual in his effort to restore the equilibrium on the basis of his values, to help maintain the communities in their own legal system and at the same time satisfy the "punishment" concepts of the western legal system. However, the sanction of holding reconciliation and restoration ceremonies (arranging dinners, asking forgiveness from the chief, the notables, etc.) will often become a western form of punishment, because the adat sanction of driving members out of the community, withdrawal of mutual assistance, excommunication from the adat, is weakened by the loosening of kinship and by the loopholes of escape offered by the big cities. Tapanuli and Amboina have tried westernization of adat sanctions by their own choice.

According to adat law, a claim for money damages for harm done, either because of lack of reasonable care for the interests of others, or by intent, is recognized throughout the Indies. In case of damage done by wandering cattle, for instance, it is permissible in many regions to kill the cattle. If, instead of doing this, compensation is asked for the damage done, that is possible. When there is no intent, damage of a purely economic nature (and not caused by magic) cannot lead to a judgment for compensation.

The question of whether the driver of a vehicle in automobile accidents or also the native possessor is responsible for damages has come up a few times. The native possessor of the automobile has already been judged responsible in some decisions in Java. This seems to be systematically in harmony with the responsibility of the cattle possessor for damage brought about while the buffaloes, herded by young boys, are turned loose,—but it does not correspond with native legal ideas everywhere.

The responsibility of the legal residents of a community for unpunished (unpaid for) delicts committed on the area of disposal is an example of the obligation, based on the bonds which exist between the group and the land, without any personal element, to restore equilibrium by payment of a fine for delicts.